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by Thomas Gordon

THE
CONSPIRATORS;

OR,

The CASE of CATILINE,

As collected from the best Historians, impartially examin'd; with respect to his *declared* and *covert* ABETTERS; and the *Artifices* used to ~~skreen~~ screen the Conspirators from Punishment.

By the AUTHOR of the CASE of
Francis, Lord BACON.

*Nor This, nor That, you CATILINE can call;
He's Knight o'th' Shire, and represents you All.*

Rumpatur, Quisquis rumpitur Invidiâ.
Mart.

THE THIRD EDITION.

L O N D O N,

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THE

CONSTITUTIONS

OF THE CHURCH

OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
 AS REVISED BY THE
 GENERAL ASSEMBLY
 OF THE CLERGY OF THE
 CHURCH OF ENGLAND
 IN THE YEAR 1549

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THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND



TO

The RIGHT HONOURABLE

The EARL of

S-----D.

MY LORD,

AS soon as I had collected the
Memoirs of this horrid
Conspiracy, I was not long deli-
berating with my self, to whom
I should make bold to address
them; for casting my Eyes a-
bout both for a PATRIOT and a
STATESMAN, your Lordship's
A 2 shining

shining Character, in both these Capacities, struck me at one View, and immediately determin'd me in my Choice.

BY such Tracts of History as these may be seen, how Kingdoms and Commonwealths are undone : And the Pilots of the State, by such Examples, may know how to shun those fatal Rocks, upon which other Governments have split. I don't know, but that our Circumstances may be like those of old *Rome*, when this Plot of CATILINE was set on Foot: But of this your Lordship is the *ablest Judge*. That there has been a Conspiracy among us, is known to all the World ; that the Mischief, and
De-

Devastations which it has caused, have been more fatal than the most inveterate Civil War, is as certain : But, amidst the Miseries of a suffering People, the Wants of so many Thousand Private Families, the Ruine of all Ranks and Degrees of Persons, there is a glimmering of Hope left to comfort them, which is, that they can boast in your Lordship's Assistance, the *Redress* of a *Statesman*, whose *uncorrupt Heart* and *clean Hands* have been able to *baffle* the *Assaults* of *foul Suspicions*, and made your *Character* as *clear* and *conspicuous* to all the World, as it was before to your *best* and most *intimate* Friends.

TO

TO such Patriots therefore as your Lordship, it belongs [and from such will it ever principally be expected] to see that Justice be done to the Opprest; that Traytors, and Betrayers of their Country, be punish'd; and Miscreants kept in Awe by the Force of wholesome Severities.

WE live *my Lord*, in an Age of Degeneracy and Corruption; yet if there are *Great Men*, who have meanly contaminated their Hands with *Bribes*, neither their Chariot nor their Equipage, their Quality nor their Offices, nor all the other Poms of a superior Character, will be sufficient to defend them from our *Hatred* and *Contempt*.

FROM

FROM the mean Obscurity in which Fortune has plac'd me, I look up with Scorn upon that *little* Great Man, who is only remarkable for his *eminent* *Rogueries*. I do not say there is in the World any such thing as a *Great* Man with a *little* Soul; far be it from me to imagine, much more to utter Scandals against Those, who think themselves, and with Justice, my Superiors. But as the Great Council of the Nation are now upon a Scrutiny, endeavouring to detect, and purge away Infection, it is not doubted, at all Hands, but your Lordship, who make so considerable a Figure in this most august Assembly, will do

all you can towards bringing the *Knot of Conspirators* to condign *Punishment*; Not only the *Inferior Villains*, but the *Great Ones*, if there can be any Such, who have ventured to dishonour the high Rank they share, by bearing a Part in such a *Mechanick Confederacy*.

T H E R E have been, my LORD, *State-Criminals* before These: Nor can it ever be forgot, to the *Honour* of your Name, how active you were in bringing *Some* to the *Block* who had rashly presum'd to invade the Publick Peace. It was that Spirit of a *Patriot*, so exemplary in your Lordship, which made you think the Man unworthy of Life, who

durst

durst do any thing *to hurt his Country*. We cannot then distrust, that you will not proceed with the same *honest Resentments* against *these Traytors*: And endeavour to make their Punishment equal to their Crime. The *Others* were *protected* by their Country, and yet *disturb'd* it: These were not only *protected*, but *trusted* and *rewarded* by It; and in Return, *betray'd* and *ruin'd* It. But your Lordship can *distinguish* betwixt the *Criminals*.

PERMIT me, my Lord, to press one Sentence to you, which was used by *Porcius Latro*, in his honest Declamation against *CATILINE*. *Multa sunt equidem in*

hac vitâ, quæ turpiter, ac calamitose
neglecta, Restitutionem tamèn quam-
dam quodammodo patiantur: Hu-
jus vero vindicandi Sceleris si præ-
sentem facultatem neglexeritis, fru-
strâ postea recuperandæ copiam
quæretis. I hope I shall stand
 excused by your Lordship for
 this Quotation, because it is the
 only Shadow of a *Parallel* that
 is pretended to be drawn, as your
 Lordship will readily observe, by
 the following Sheets: A *direct*
 and *plain* Matter of *Fact* is told;
 no one Person *obliquely* characte-
 ris'd, nor any *Sarcasms invidi-*
ously thrown in, to make the old
Roman Conspiracy tally with the
Circumstances of our *domestick*
Villany. But as I must be ac-
 quitted to the World of This,
 the

the Hint, perhaps, might have been spared to your Lordship.

AS you have deservedly the Reputation of so *consummate* a *Statesman*; we are not to question but your Lordship is conversant with *Machiavel*; tho' your Hours are taken up with Affairs of too much Moment, and your Capacity for publick Business too great, to let you borrow any thing from *written* Policy. I shall therefore take the Liberty to produce a Remark of that *discerning* Man, in a Circumstance very much resembling our present Case. In a City, he says, where the People happen to be divided, one Part having injur'd the rest, there remain but two

Ex-

Expedients of soddering up Matters: The One, is by putting the *Ringleaders* to *Death*; the Other, is by forcing them to be Friends, and to give *Sureties* not to offend any more. The Last of these Methods he seems not to approve of; for, he says, Reconciliations made upon Force can never last; that their daily seeing one another will administer new Occasions of Quarrel; and besides, if ever that Country should be invaded, the injur'd Party will be apt to join with the Invaders, as the Means to secure their Revenge. Resentment will always survive a Wrong; and therefore as *Machiavel* says, in Cases of this Nature there is no *sure* Way

Way of making Things *safe* but
by *executing* the *Principals*.

I WOULD not willingly be
an Advocate for *Cruelty*; but
your Lordship, who was once
pleased to think *Severity* the
safest as well as *justest* Counsel,
will not be terrified at the *Great-*
ness of the Man, that ventures
to *injure* his Country: For *You*
can have no *Partiality* in Favour
of *Traytors*.

GO on then, *my Lord*, and
like a Second CATO, persecute
Corruption where-ever you find
it: So may you be honour'd in
this Age and celebrated in the
next: So, when the History of
this *Affair* comes to be writ with-
out

out *Prejudice* or *Flattery*, may
 you be stil'd the PRESERVER and
 FATHER of your Country : And
 for such Praises be the Subject of
 a better Pen, than That of

My LORD,

Your Lordship's sincere

Admirer, and most

obedient Servant,

BRITANNICUS.



THE
CONSPIRATORS, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE I enter upon the History of that Conspiracy, which is design'd to make the Subject of these Sheets, it may not be amiss, by way of Introduction, to make a few Remarks upon *Conspiracies* in general, and upon the different *Species* of them.

THERE are, as I conceive, *two* sorts of *Conspiracies*; One, which is form'd and carried on against the Person of the *Prince*; and the other, which is plotted against the *Commonwealth* or *People*. And first, I shall speak of that sort which concerns a Prince, tho' it may be thought a little foreign to the Case in hand: But, if we examine History, we shall find that more Prin-

B

ces

ces have died by them, than in the Field of Battle by the Hands of an open and declar'd Enemy. *

NOTWITHSTANDING, this, it must still be admitted that it is infinitely more dangerous to conspire against a Prince, than against a Commonwealth. For, allowing the Plot should succeed, the Conspirators cannot expect to escape Punishment, if the Prince were belov'd by his Subjects: And we have a remarkable Proof of this in the Resentment that pursued the Murther of *Julius Cæsar*, where every one of the Assassins were sacrificed by the Rage and Arms of the People, except those who in despair destroy'd themselves.

BUT where a Prince is either so *wicked*, or so *unfortunate*, as to provoke a general Hate against him, he must, of Consequence, have injur'd some particular Persons more than the rest; who, no doubt, will seek all Opportunities of doing themselves right against him. These, being encourag'd by the general Disaffection which they see towards him, form to themselves, in the first place, hopes of Success, or of Impunity, at worst, if they happen to miscarry. Yet, even in this Case, there is great Danger in the conceiving and Execution of a Plot; either the Cowardice, Indiscretion, or Treachery of some in the Secret very often betrays all.

* Ad Generum Cereris sine Cæde & sanguine pauci
Descendunt Reges, & licet morte Tyranni.

Juven.

MACHIAVEL.

MACHIAVEL, I remember, gives it for his Opinion, that it is safer for Princes to injure Men in their *Lives*, than in their *Fortunes*; for he observes, that dead Men cannot think of Revenge, and the living soon forget the dead: But you cannot distress a Man so in his Circumstances, as totally to deprive him of the Power of Revenge. The poorest Man will find a Knife for a desperate Blow; and he that feels the Cruelty and Oppression of Tyranny, will become a dangerous Enemy, whenever Opportunity presents its self. It is therefore a hazardous thing for a Prince to drive Men to despair; since he, who once is brought to despise his own Life, is certainly Master of another Man's. *Philip* of *Macedon* was kill'd by *Pausanias* in the midst of his Guards; and so was *Harry* the *Fourth* of *France* by *Ravilliac*. Examples, indeed, of this extravagant Daring are but few; for a regard to Self-preservation is natural to Man in all Circumstances of Life, and it seldom happens that we chuse to run upon certain Death.

BUT, of all sorts of Conspiracies, none are so dangerous to a Prince, as those carried on by Persons intrusted with his Secrets. The same great *Politician*, whom I but now mention'd, advises a Prince to have a more watchful Eye over those whom he has oblig'd by many Benefits, than over those whom he has as signally injur'd. For by giving the *First* Wealth and Power, he puts them in a Condition of ruining him, if they prove wicked or ungrateful: And it is often
seen,

seen, that Avarice and Ambition will carry some Men as far as Revenge will carry others.

THE *Favourites* of a Prince know the weak side of his Affairs, see whether his Footing be slippery, and can lay hold of the proper Occasion to give him a Trip: While others, who by distance from his Trust and Counsels, know nothing of his Weaknesses, vent their Resentment only by cursing and railing at a bad Prince, and proceed no further. It is observable therefore, that the most successful Conspiracies have been manag'd by Persons in the Bosom of the Prince: At *Rome*, for instance, the Emperor *Commodus* was destroy'd by *Martia*, his darling Mistress, and *Latus* and *Electus*, his two greatest Favourites; at home, scarce an *Englishman* is ignorant how far King *James the Second* was betray'd by a certain Lord, who was his first Secretary, and at the Head of his Cabinet Councils. These were enrich'd and dignify'd with Honours, and yet, as if they were oppress'd with too many Favours, conspir'd against their Masters; fawn'd upon them, while they were working their Ruines, and betray'd them, while they were soliciting new Gratifications. It puts me in mind of a fine turn in *Shakespeare*, where speaking of the Fears that attended Plots, and what Disguises they needed to obscure the Brow of Treason, he cries,

————— Seek none, Conspiracy;
Hide it in Smiles, and Affability:
For if thou put thy Native Semblance on,
Not Erebus itself were dimm enough
To hide thee from Prevention!

THERE

THEREFORE I say, of all Treasons, That works the surest, which puts on the Mask of Love and Friendship.

I COME now to speak a word of *Conspiracies* against a *Commonwealth*, or *People*. These, as I have before hinted, are concerted and carried on with *less Danger* and *Hazard* to the *Conspirators*: but, at the same time, are attended with *greater Circumstances of Villany* in the *Actors*. For the People cannot injure particular Men as a Prince may, not having the Power in their Hands; and in those States, where the People have any share in the Government, it is to be observ'd, that they are very tender of private Property. But they who generally conspire against the People, are Persons who have the Administration over them; who, perhaps, are back'd with a standing Army commanded and led by their own Creatures, and maintain'd at the Charge of that People whom they are employ'd to destroy. Thus the Treason being acted against no Principal (for the People are nothing without a Head). meets with very little Difficulty in the bringing about. Treason against the Prince is executed either by Poyson, or the Sword; because in many Cases his Power ends not but with his Life: But there is no such thing in executing Treason against the People by the same Instruments, because it is impossible to massacre or poison a whole Nation: Therefore it is perpetrated by some *Fraud*: when it is against their *Wealth*; or by *Terror*, when it is against their *Liberties*. But, in either of these Cases, where the Persons conspiring have the Reins of Government in their

Hands,

Hands, and have standing Troops at their Devotion, they incur no great Danger of Punishment. In Countries, where the Government is *mixt*, as was that of *Sparta*, who had both a *King* and their *Ephori*; if the governing Men should have once ventur'd to destroy the Liberty of the People, it is probable they would not have stopp'd there; but would likewise have ruin'd the Prince, or made him a Tool to their Arbitrary Schemes: Both which they might have easily brought to pass, being so strengthen'd with Power, and thereby made capable of securing themselves from Punishment.

THIS may be a Lesson of some Moment to Princes, both in regard to themselves and their Subjects, (whose Welfare ought to be connective and dependant on each other, and whose Interests, consequently, should be inseparable and the same) not to trust and parcel out their Power indiscreetly; especially those Branches of it, which relate nearly to the Prerogative of the Crown, or Wealth and Property of the Subject. For a People can neither be happy nor flourishing, where their Prince's Hands are tied, and his Will of doing Service circumscrib'd by Inability: And, on the other Hand, let Prerogative be never so ample and uncontroul'd, if the Riches of his Subjects are once drain'd, and their Spirits impoverish'd with their Fortunes, the Prince there grasps but an empty and precarious Scepter.

I CANNOT easily forget, or omit, here the Sentiments of *MACHIAVEL*, which seem to have a Relation to the Matter which I
am

am now handling. 'Tis plain, the great Politician, thought, that the *personal Virtues* of a Prince were not essential, or of such Moment to his Kingdom, as his *Care and Wisdom* in appointing good and honest Ministers of State. And therefore, in his Chapters touching SECRETA-RIES, he has thrown in some Rules for the distinguishing a good Minister, and for the keeping him so: *When you see, (says he,) the Servant study more for his own Advantage than yours, and that in all his Actions he searches most after his own Profit, the Man so qualified shall never prove a good Servant, nor can you ever rely upon him: For he that holds the Stern of the State, ought never to call Home his Cares to his own Particular, but give himself wholly over to his Prince's Service, nor ever put him in Mind of any thing not appertaining to Him. And on the other side, the Prince to keep him good to him, ought to honour, enrich, and oblige his Servant, giving him Part both of Dignities and Offices, to the End that the many Honours and much Wealth bestow'd on him, may restrain him from desiring other Honours and other Wealth, and that those many Charges cause him to fear Changes that may happen, knowing his own Safety is dependant on that of his Master.*

THERE have been, and certainly will be, as long as the World lasts, a Set of Men who, as * *Livy* expresses it, value nothing in Comparison with Wealth, and think there can be no Access to either Honour or Virtue, but for the Man who is immoderately rich. These, of all People

* Qui omnia humana præ divitiis spernunt, neque honori magno locum, neque Virtuti putant esse, nisi effusæ affluent Ops. *Liv. l. 3. c. 26.*

People should be restrain'd from hurting the Publick in Office.

BUT, to draw my Subject into a narrower Compass;

THE Hinges on which most generally all *Conspiracies* are turn'd, are either the L U X U R Y of an overgrown State, that labours for a proper Vent to its Humours; the P O V E R T Y of a People drain'd and exhausted, that cover *Innovation* to repair and recruit them; the A M B I T I O N of some popular and factious *Ministers*, who think themselves confin'd within too narrow a Sphere of Power; or some raging and incurable D I S C O N T E N T S against the Persons at the *Helm*, who, having once lost the Love and Opinion of their Subjects, seldom boast a long and stable *Administration*. And, from which ever of these Causes a Commonwealth is rent and dissever'd, there always happens something so flagrant and uncommon in the Means of bringing it about, as startles the Minds of the impartial and unconcern'd Spectators.

NOR must I forget to add, among the other Causes, the fatal Consequences that have attended those States, where two large a Portion of Power has been committed into *mean* and *improper* Hands: For the Views of *Plebeians*, however elevated above their own Dirt by *accidental Promotions*, are *sordid* and *gripping*; and the Rule of their Proceedings is always to *grasp* at *other Men's Properties*, to *swell* their *own Fortunes* higher. But notwithstanding this is so known and obvious, they are frequently set up either thro'

Envy

*Envy or Indiscretion, and preferr'd, in publick Affairs, to others both of more Ability to execute, and Honour to grace, their Offices. For it happens in all Ages and Countries, as SALUST, who was himself of the People's Side, has delicately observ'd, Regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena Virtus formidolosa est; that honest Men are more suspected than Knaves by most Princes, and to such Potentates another's Virtue is ever a Scarecrow. **

TO enter more regularly upon the History of this wicked and dangerous Conspiracy, which took its Name from its Principal *CATILINE*, and which designed no less than the Ruine and Overthrow of the best establish'd Government in the World; it will be proper to make some Remarks on the Condition of the Commonwealth of *Rome*, at the Time when such a Conspiracy took its Rise: For so every Reader will be able to make this useful Observation, That a *Commonwealth*, like a *human Body*, when its *Constitution* is once broke into and corrupted, and those *Ministers*, who should give it *Strength and Nourishment*, are become *vicious and rotten*, it is prepar'd to receive *any Infection*: And a Scar, which would not be felt or seen on a sound Body, will destroy that which is already distemper'd.

NEVER was a greater Fall from Virtue, and every thing that was worthy, upon the Record of History, than of this *Great, but Infamous*

C

Peo-

* Salust. in Bello Catilinario.

People ! They, who were, at first, intent on the Protection of their Country, and Defence of their Allies ; who delighted more in Arms, and Steeds of War, than idle Feasts and effeminate Luxury ; they, whose greatest Emulation was Glory, who strove to be formost in Mounting the Breach, and counted such an Action to Riches, Reputation, and Nobility : Who were greedy of Fame, but liberal of their Corn ; degenerated, at last, into Ease and Indolence ; gave way to mean Ambitions and meaner Avarice ; and sunk into all the contrary Extremes of Vice, and Luxury, and every sort of Debauchery. From having been severe in Virtue, rigid in their Morals, and strict in their Piety, Prophane-ness now began to be encourag'd, the Mysteries of Religion and the Worship of the Gods were exploded and ridicul'd. The Drols and Buffoons of the Age laugh'd at Notions of Sanctity, and took this Way of recommending themselves to the Great, in order to be preferr'd in their Fortunes. It was become the peculiar Characteristick of Wit to sneer at Things sacred, and even the Ignorant and Foolish (who made up the greater Number) had Recourse to this impious Practise of Affronting the Gods, for Want of other distinguishing Parts, whereby to make themselves taken Notice of. It became a Piece of Policy to cultivate a Contempt of the *Priesthood* : And the *Power*, they once had of accusing those who were guilty of Irreverence towards the Gods, was so suspended, that it was in a manner *quite taken away*.

NOW, it is very easy to account why this Libertinism was so encourag'd by several of the Great

Great Men of the Times : They knew very well, that every Religion was grounded upon, and maintain'd by, some vertuous Principles : That Man, whose Nature is frail and prone to Corruption, must be aw'd by some Belief of future Rewards and Punishments : And therefore Religion was the strongest Tie to Morality. They had observ'd, in reading the History of their Great Ancestors, that the Commonwealth had maintain'd its Liberty by its Adherence to Religion : For it was thought an Impiety towards the Gods, to endeavour to subvert that Constitution which they had establish'd.

THUS the Great Men, who were Lovers of their Country, by shewing the People Examples of their high Reverence to the Gods, kept them virtuous and united. And it is owing to the same Cause, that, for many Ages, those, who attempted any thing against the publick Liberty, always perish'd in their Corruption. But the *Magistrates* of these Days, having Views quite different from those of their Great and Vertuous Ancestors, took as different Measures in their *Administration* : Luxury and Avarice having possess'd their whole Hearts, all their *Schemes* and *Projects* tended to *raise themselves* on the *Ruin* of the *Publick* : And the more surely to corrupt the Honesty of the Times, they perswaded the People that Religion was nothing but the Craft and Juggle of Priests : Well knowing, if this Notion prevail'd, the People thinking themselves bound by no Ties of Conscience, would soon lay aside the Incumbrance of their Morals : And being once addicted to Impiety, they might easily gain over a licentious Party, wicked

enough to join with them in the Destruction of the People.

THESE, no Doubt, were the Reasons that induc'd them to propagate Atheism; and the Consequence often answer'd the Design propos'd. For being corrupted in the Fundamentals, good Principles abated in them every Day; and the exalted Notions, which they before had of Honour, now terminated in Schemes to accumulate a Fortune. And, as * *SALUST* observes, *Postquam Divitiæ honori esse caperunt, & eas Gloria, Imperium, Potentia sequebatur; hebescere Virtus, Paupertas probro haberi, Innocentia pro Malivolentia duci capit.* As soon as Riches once began to be in Honour, and Glory, Power, and Preferment were the Consequences of a great Estate; Virtue sicken'd and fell off in their Opinion, Narrowness of Circumstances was esteem'd a Disgrace, and even Innocence of Life an Invidious Reproach on the Conduct of their Betters.

HOW thoroughly Avarice had overturn'd their Principles, because Example in all Cases goes beyond Precept and Declamation, I shall endeavour to shew from One Instance of as general Corruption (if you will allow it possible) as has lately happen'd among Us.

† *MICIPSA*, the King of the Numidians, dying, left his Kingdom to his two Sons, *Adherbal* and *Hiempsal*, and to *Jugurtha*, his Brother's Son, whom he had adopted. *Jugurtha* soon surpriz'd his Cousin *Hiempsal* by a Stratagem

* In Bello Catilinario. † T. Livius in Epit. lib. LXII.

gem, kill'd him in the Night, and so remov'd one of his Partners in Empire: Nor had *Adherbal* far'd better, if he had not taken the Alarm, and put himself on the Defence, and afterwards fled to *Rome* for Refuge.

JUGURTHA, being sensible how much Avarice and Injustice had crept into the City, (1) and having no other Hopes of diverting the Resentments of *Rome* than by the Force of his Money and their Avarice, dispatch'd his Ambassadors thither with large Presents, which had such Effects upon the *Senate*, (2) and wrought such a Change in their Minds, that, from the highest Pitch of Hatred and Detestation, he got into the highest Favour and Respect with the *Patricians*. They proceeded so effectually in his Interest, that they decreed him half the Kingdom, and sent him Ten *Commissioners* to divide it between him and *Adherbal* (3).

(4) THE *Commissioners*, thinking they might lawfully imitate their Masters in the Senate, were also *brib'd* to bestow the most rich and populous Part upon *Jugurtha*: But he still unsatisfied

(1) Neque advorsus iram ejus usquàm, nisi in avariciâ nobilitatis, & pecuniâ suâ, spem habere. *Salust.* in bello Jugurthino.

(2) Tanta Commutatio incessit, ut ex maximâ invidiâ in gratiam & favorem Nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret. Idem ibid.

(3) Decretum fit, uti decem legati regnum, quod Micipsa obtinuerat, inter Jugurtham & Adherbalem dividerent. Idem. ibid.

(4) In divisione, quæ pars Numidiæ Mauritaniam attingit, agro virisque opulentior, Jugurthæ traditur. Idem. ibid.

fied with a Rival in Power, fell suddenly upon *Adherbal*, besieg'd him in *Cirta*, (5) and getting him into his Hands, first tortures, and (as *Livy* tells us, (6) *contra denunciationem Senatus*) against the express Injunction of the Senate, puts him to Death.

L E T us see now, what was the Consequence of this Indignity. The Senate are provok'd, and a War is decreed against *Jugurtha*. This Affair is committed to the management of *Calpurnius Bestia* the Consul, who invades *Numidia* with great Vigour and Diligence, takes some Towns, but is soon stop'd in his Career, being overcome by the *Golden Weapons* of *Jugurtha*. (7)

T H E Senate are a little surpriz'd and mov'd at this, and at the Conduct of *Scaurus*, who accompanying the Consul as his Friend and Counsellor, and who had been an inveterate Enemy to *Jugurtha*, was likewise guilty of the *same Crime*. (8)

T O put a stop to these Steps of Corruption, *Cassius Longinus*, the *Prætor*, is sent, to procure *Jugurtha* to come to *Rome* upon the publick Faith
of

(5) Igitur Jugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat. Id. ibid.

(6) Liv. in Epit. li. 64.

(7) Animus æger avaritiâ facilè conversus est. Sall. in bell. Jugur.

(8) Qui tamen à principiò plerisq; ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrimè regem impugnaverant, tamen, magnitudine pecuniæ, à bonò, honestòq; in pravum abstractus est. Idem. ibid.

of the State, that so they might discover all such as had been guilty of BRIBERY. (9)

JUGURTHA is with much Difficulty persuaded to make tryal of the Clemency of *Rome*, and to throw himself upon the People's Mercy : Whereupon he appears in the supplicating Habit, and is no sooner brought before the Assembly, but *Babius* the *Tribune* bids him hold his peace, he being also *brib'd* to defer the Business, and delude the People. (10)

UPON this, *Jugurtha* is in a few days order'd from *Rome*, and follow'd by the Consul *Albinus* with an Army : But the Consul soon leaving his Forces with his Brother *Aulus*, by Virtue of some *Compact*, he withdraws them from the Town where the chief Treasure of the Kingdom lay, when he was just upon investing it. (11)

THE *Centurions* were likewise so corrupted, that when *Albinus* return'd, *Jugurtha* was suffer'd to break into their Camp : Whence beating out the Army, he either forc'd, or by Agreement too, brought *Albinus* to submit upon most dishonourable Terms. (12) I

(9) Eumq; interpositâ fide publicâ, Romam duceret, quo facilius indicio regis, Scauri & reliquorum, quos pecuniæ captæ arcessabant, delicta patefierent.

(10) C. Bæbius Tribunus plebis, quem pecuniâ corruptum suprâ diximus, regem tacere jubet.

(11) Deniq; Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti, relicto Suthule (ubi regis Thesauri erant) in abditas regiones sese, velute cedentem, insequeretur.

(12) Centuriones, ducesq; turmarum, partim, uti transfugerent, corrumpere; alii, signò datò, uti locum desererent. &c. Idem *ibid.*

I KNOW very well these Corruptions, which *Rome* gave way to from the Hands of *Jugurtha*, fell out some little time before the Conspiracy of *Catiline*, but it was at a time when the same infamous Politicks began to prevail, and qualified them for more flagitious Practises. *Rome* it self, as * *Plutarch* takes notice, was in the most dangerous Inclination to change, by reason of the unequal Distribution of its Wealth, for Persons of the greatest Honour and Spirit had made themselves poor by Ambition of Offices, sumptuous Buildings, and the like; and by these means the Riches of the City were fallen into the Hands of *mean* and *despicable* Persons: So that there wanted but little Weight to remove the Seat of Affairs, it being in the Power of every daring Man to overturn a sickly Commonwealth.

CATILINE was not a Stranger to the Luxury and Vices of the State, nor to the Sentiments of the Factious and Discontented Nobles, who wish'd to see their Countrey worse imbroil'd than it had been by the late Revolution, brought about by the Arms and Ambition of *Sylla*.

WHEN once the Constitution of any State is subverted, *Innovation*, like the *Hydra's* Heads, sprouts out into new Changes. All Parties cannot be satisfied with one Scheme of Government, and the Malecontents will still be practising to alter the Measure they dislike. Some have too much

* In *Vitâ M. T. Ciceronis*.

much Wealth, and others too great Preferments, either of which is an Eyesore to the Man of narrow Circumstances, and who has no Promotions to better his Fortune. *Catiline*, who was of a towering ambitious Spirit, aim'd more at providing for his *Luxuries*, than his *Wants*: The Passions of *Avarice* and *Preheminence* equally inflam'd him: His Pride could not digest the Repulses he met with in his standing for Offices, and his partial Opinion of his own Merit, that was neglected, made him so far envy the successful Dignity of others, that, as *Porcius Latro* expresses it, *the Lust of his Wickedness centred in plundering the Substance, and oppressing the Liberty, of the whole City.* †

THO' he was subtle and crafty by Nature, yet he had not all that Cunning which he was suppos'd to be Master of from his accusom'd *Taciturnity*; Silence being the best disguise either to hide good Sense, or the Want of it. Considering with himself that the great Designs he had in view, no less in Effect than the ruin of the People of *Rome*, could not be brought about by himself alone, but that it was the Work of more Villains than one, and therefore there would be a Necessity of several under-Machines; he cast his Eyes about the City to find out those *Romans* of the most vicious and profligate Lives, and the most desperate Fortunes; with both which at this time the City abounded. Such Men as these he judg'd would be
D equal

† Hujus Sceleris Libido reposita erat in diripiendis omnium civium facultatibus, atq; opprimenda urbis Libertas: Porc. Latro in Declam. contra Catilinam.

equal to the Mischief he had to perpetrate; for 'tis not to be wonder'd, that they, who have neither Fame nor Fortune to lose, who had been bred up in Luxury and Riot, and were eager for Rapine and Plunder, should feel no Remorse at trampling over the Necks of their fellow Citizens; if they stood in their way to Preferment. Having therefore attach'd himself to several of these, they joyn'd together in a close, but most enormous, Conspiracy: And the first Step which they judg'd most necessary and essential, was to work themselves into all the profitable Offices of the Republick; that having at their Command the *Treasure* of their Country, they might destroy her with her *own Strength*. The *first Part* of their Scheme they easily brought to pass by *caballing* with the *Citizens*, and the *latter* they very near effected, as will be evident in the Sequence of this History.

IT may be very material to my Subject to take Notice, while this *Faction* presid'd over the publick Affairs, by what Maxims and Artifices of *infamous* Policy they labour'd to extirpate and root out that little Virtue which was left among the People.

I AM told it has been a common Practice in Surgery, where any great Limb is to be cut off, to begin with giving a strong *Opiat* to the Patient, to take off the Feeling and Apprehension of what he was going to suffer. And such was the Method of these *political Operators*, they were to administer quieting Draughts of Pleasure, to dull the *sensitive* Faculties of the *State*, to divert them from dwelling too intently on their Case,
that

that they might have the better Opportunity of *cutting clean*, and not startle their Patients with the *Size* of their *Knife*, or the *Incision* that they were to make with it.

ONE of the Methods of *Stupefaction*, which they thought fit to practise, was the exhibiting *new* and *extravagant* Entertainments. For this End *foreign Strollers*, *Songsters*, and *Buffoons*, were sent for and invited to settle in *Rome*. These Artists, the Generality of whom had submitted to *Eunuchism* for the Benefit of a Voice, were hired and supported at the most extravagant Charge: Some of them having Pensions equal to the Pay of a *Prator*, or General of the *Legions*: They had their *Litters* and their *Slaves*, their *Baths* and their *Perfumes*, and the Privilege of an *intimate Access* to the *greatest Man* in *Rome*; when an honest Citizen, who had any Grievance to complain of, might attend without Redress, or so much as being admitted to an Audience. The voluntary Contributions, which were made towards the supporting these Creatures in State, were very large, and their Shews and Spectacles were govern'd and order'd by a Set of *vain PATRICIANS* then in Power, who took Care that no Representation should be exhibited to the People, but such as incited effeminate Passions and soft Desires: To the End that Vice and Indolence might steal into their Souls imperceptibly and they might be so overcome by the Charms of Luxury, as not to be awake either to their Virtue or Danger.

THIS Extravagance of Diversion was seconded by another, as *expensive*, but more *profligate*

gate and licentious in its Nature. A Diversion, that gave so great an Umbrage to publick Scandal, that tho' the People of the first Character zealously espous'd it, the *Pontifex Maximus*, or HIGH PRIEST, was oblig'd in Decency to make some Representations against it, tho' he had afterwards the *Honesty* to make One, as it was too generally suspected, in this *notorious Conspiracy*. This Entertainment, of which I am now speaking, was of a kind unknown before to the *Romans*: A Midnight Revel, where both Sexes met in strange Disguises; such as *Centaurs*, *Satyrs*, *Sylvans*, and the like; and convers'd with the utmost Freedom, without being suppos'd to know each other's Sex or Quality. The whole Stream of the People fell into this tempting Debauchery; neither Years, nor Wisdom, nor Reason, restrain'd them from indulging in a Pleasure that promis'd such a Variety of Satisfaction. For, as * *Nicolaus de Clemangis* describes it, *Nec sola juven-tus, sed & proVectior atas vitiis juvenilibus ita esset implicata, ut luxui lubricaque dissolutioni non dies sufficeret, noctes saepe ludo ac choreis insomnes transigerent, &c. Viri sui sexus obliti in muliebremque resoluti mollitiem, fœmineo se ritu agunt; comptri, & ad speculum compositi domo prodeunt auro & gemmis ornati: Fœmina a Natura propria degeneres virilem induerunt audaciam.* Not only the giddy Youth, but Persons advanc'd in years, were so intangled in these juvenile Vices, that the Day was not sufficient for their Luxury and Dissoluteness, but they often past whole Nights without Sleep in Dancing and Gaming. The Men forgetting the Dignity of their Sex, and sunk into a Womanish Softness, like that Sex, were dress'd

dress'd and adorn'd as the Looking-glass, and went out glittering with a Weight of Gold and Jewels; the Women, on the other Hand, relinquishing their natural Modesty, put on an Affectation of Masculine Assurance. C I C E R O, whose Voice was of such Authority in other Cases, prevail'd nothing against the Violence of their Affection to these Sports; he could not discountenance these unseasonable Riotings, tho' he declar'd in open Senate that Dancing was but the Shadow of Luxury; meaning, as a Learned Man has been pleas'd to interpret him, that as there is no Shadow without a Substance to cause it, so there can be no Dancings without a Foundation of Luxury: *Quod sicuti umbra ibi non sit ubi non sit corpus; ita nec Saltatio reperiatur, nisi ubi sit Luxuria.* †

I T was supposed by the graver Sort at first, that this was a Contrivance only for Cabals and Plotting; but, in effect, it was intended for the Propagation of Lewdness, and to work their more remote Designs by poisoning the State with a general Taint of Debauchery. For now, by the Industry of these Governours, all the Vices of *Asia* were improv'd at *Rome*.

A N D this Sort of Policy work'd a very notable Effect in Favour of their Cause; for the people being as it were stupified with Shews, Feasts, Vanity, Luxury, and every Branch of Effeminacy, had not Leisure to think of, or look into, their Condition, to examine the intricate Administration of their Governors, or see the Tyranny and Ruin that was stealing over them;
So

† Vide Rivinum de Majumis, Maicampis, & Roncaliis.

So that they were undone before they knew it; they wak'd as it were from a Golden Dream, and found themselves in the utmost Danger of being destroy'd. But these Governors very well knew, that tho' the *Romans* above all other People, were remarkable for a virtuous Love of Liberty; yet if they once came to be govern'd by an Arbitrary and Despotick Power, they would by degrees fall off from that Affection to their Country: For Luxury and Indolence are the things that best prepare the Minds of Men for Slavery, and reconcile them to Meanness and Servitude.

IT may be very material, (tho' it is a Task of Difficulty, and much Trouble, at this distance of Time,) to characterize the Persons, that so infamously distinguish'd themselves in this Conspiracy.

LUCIUS Sergius Cataline was himself descended from a *Patrician* Family, his Father bearing the same Name and having likewise borne some Offices in the Commonwealth. At his Death, he left behind him rather the Character of a *cunning* than of an *honest* Man; for he had not carried himself with Integrity in the Offices he held, but had, as it was afterwards well known, betray'd the Secrets of the Commonwealth to its Enemies. Therefore the People bore a kind of Hatred to the Name of the Family, and it became a common Phrase in the Mouths of the People, when any great Man in Office was suspected of betraying the State, (which was common in those days) to say, *he'll prove another Catiline*.

BY this it may be seen, that the *Cataline* whose History I am now penning, came into the World with the Prejudice of the People, nor did he ever, 'tis certain, take any Pains to remove that Prejudice. He was so far from being belov'd by his Fellow Citizens, that he improv'd the Hatred towards his Family, and not without Cause: For he had none of those Virtues in his Soul, which recommend a Man; being neither generous, compassionate, friendly, nor a lover of the Populace; but sullen and reserv'd in his Temper, a very little Talker, and very seldom observ'd to smile; wherefore he was not an agreeable Companion even in his Pleasures.

I MUST obviate one Objection here, which is, that I may seem to falsify the Accounts of some Historians in relation to his want of Generosity; for * *SALUST* says expressly, that he was *alieni appetens, sui profusus*, very greedy of what belong'd to others, very profuse of what was his own. But this Generosity of his must be understood as to his *Largeesses* and *Briberies*, to carry any Point: There, indeed, he was not only liberal, but extravagant. The Cause of the *Faction*, in which he chose to embark himself, was to be advanc'd and establish'd by *Premiums*, but this was at best a *designing Liberality*, a *Trick* of his *Policy*, and not a *Virtue* of his *Temper*.

AS to his Person, he was of a middle Stature, and something inclin'd to Corpulency; but Nature had not adorn'd his Mien or Countenance with

* In bellô Catilinariô.

with any Grace or taking Beauty. There was a fixt and settled *Sovreness* in his Face, which made an Impression upon the Beholders at first Sight, much to his *Disadvantage*, and prepossess'd Men with a Notion of his being *ill-temper'd*.

IT is the Trick of Nature sometimes to hang out Colours, as it were, and to write the Passions and Inclinations of the Soul in expressive Characters upon the Lines and Muscles of the Face: And Men put so strong a Belief on those external Marks of Virtue, or Vice, that when they behold a Man whom the Gods have mark'd, as they used to term it, act and behave himself with Justice and Benevolence towards Mankind, they will not be perswaded to believe it the Effect of Vertue; but rather to proceed from Disimulation, in order to carry on some wicked Design.

BE this as it may, it is certain that *Cataline's* Face did no way bely his Soul. If he look'd crafty, vicious, fowre, or envious, he certainly was so, and we need no clearer a Proof than an Appeal to the Actions. History has not been very particular as to his Education, but as soon as he came to Man's Estate, we find, he thrust himself into *Factions* and *Cabals*; and herded with those, who were for embroiling the Publick, only with private views of preferring themselves.

HE married several times, but chiefly, as People suspected, for the Convenience of strengthening himself by *Alliances* with *Great Men*, rather than out of any Affection for the *Ladies*.

For

For if we may believe some Authors, he had a most *unnatural* Taste in his Gallantries: And in those Hours when he gave a Loose to Love; the Women were wholly excluded from his Embraces. * *Omitto pestis hujus impurissimas Voces, molliem scenicam, obtutus impudicos, blanditias muliebres, & omnem denique copiam non mediocrium vitiorum, &c.* There are some Vices, which give too gross Ideas, to be repeated by the Names that are affix'd to them. 'Tis certain, however odd and unnatural his Lewdness was, (yet it was a notorious Practise among some great Men of that Age) and some of his *Ganymedes* were pamper'd and supported at a high Rate at his Expence; and this Profuseness, excepting only in *Briberies*, was the kind in which he most indulg'd himself.

THE chief of his Instruments, as the most active in *palliating* the Conspiracy, when discover'd, was *M. Hortensius*. He was a busie Senator of no great Family or Fortune; but the little Patrimony, which descended to him from his Ancestors, he had wasted by promoting *Factions* in the Commonwealth, which he repair'd again by *publick Offices*. He had been prefer'd and disgrac'd, and disgrac'd and prefer'd again, according as the Factions, which he espous'd, prevail'd or were disappointed. When in Office, he was ever Tyrannical and Arbitrary; when discarded, busy and intriguing in order to replace himself.

E

BY

* *Forcius Latio in Declam. contra Cælinam.*

BY his Reach in Politicks, and artful Insinuations, he made himself Head of a Party of *mercenary* Senators, whom he led as he pleas'd : For 'tis said of him, that he had an equal Address at *giving*, or at *taking*, a *Bribe*. Thus he made himself of Consequence to a Faction, and push'd things with so much Earnestness and Inclination; that it was surmis'd, he conniv'd at the *Gallantries* of his *Wife*; to engage some of her *Lovers* in his *Designs*.

HE had been formerly *imprison'd* and *expell'd* the *Senate* for taking *Bribes* in his *Office*, yet this was no great Let to his after-Preferments; for that *Practise* was now grown so *general* and *familiar*, that People forgot so much as to *blush* for it. And to give more pregnant Instances of his *Integrity*, it was his Custom, whenever any thing was propounded in the *Senate*, to appear very *violent* on *one* side in order to be *brib'd off* by the *other*. And thus it was that he behav'd in this Affair, for 'tis certain that he was not a *Principal* in this *Conspiracy*, nor any Instrument in the plotting or carrying it on; for he at first seem'd to *prosecute* it as is before hinted, till he afterwards chang'd sides for Reasons obvious enough to be guess'd at, and which we shall account for anon; and then he became as *strenuous* in *skreening* the *Conspirators* from the *Punishments*, which *CATO* and other Senators, of severe Morals, press'd to have inflicted. The Talents, which would have most turn'd to his Praise, had he not perverted and abus'd them, were, that he was well vers'd in the Learning of the times, and was accounted a very good Orator, so that his

his Harangues were always sure of being receiv'd with Attention.

LUCIUS Bestia, was no inconsiderable Party in this Conspiracy; he was at first an ordinary Pleader at the Bar, but having a very good Knack of Oratory, and being esteem'd to know very well the Laws of the Republick, he soon piec'd out the meanness of his Fortunes by the assistance of his Endowments; and made shift to advance himself by the Troubles of the Commonwealth. The promoting of Dissention in the State, and City, was the common Method Men took then of making themselves considerable: And as Affairs stood, he must have been a wretched Incendiary indeed, that could not be caress'd by one Party or other.

THE Commonwealth, in short, was used like an Enemy's Country, upon the Plunder of which every one expected to make his private Fortune. *Bestia* did not fail to make his Advantage out of such Commotions; but, bustling thro' Factions, got himself into one of her Seats of Preferment. Here he had an Opportunity of gratifying all his Vices; one of which was a Notorious *Partiality* in the *Administration of Justice*. For he was used to stretch and torture the Law to his own Construction, and wrest its meaning to the Injury of Persons who were not of his own Faction; so that he became the Terror of *honest* Men. At his first setting out, and pushing for promotion, he attach'd himself to an opposite Party, but finding the Interests of it to decline and run low, that its Advocates were oppress'd, and not very likely to retrieve their

Ground; He turn'd his Back upon his unsuccessful Choice, and follow'd Fortune; joyning himself to that *Faction*, which, tho' not the most *just*, was nevertheless the most *prosperous*.

TO these was join'd in their pernicious League, *Caius Cornelius Cethegus*, a Man, as * *Plutarch* says, insolent in his Conduct, and vicious in his Morals. Authors, I find, differ pretty widely concerning his Original; some asserting that he was of the *Cornelian* Family, bred to Letters, and design'd for the Bar; but others informing us, that he was only a *Gladiator*, and of so base and mean extraction, that his Parents were obscure enough not to be known in their own Country.

HOWEVER, when he once came to be advanc'd in the Commonwealth, and to have some Honours conferr'd upon him, he labour'd pretty heartily to make a Figure, and being vain-glorious in his Temper, he took a great deal of Pains to deduce his Original from *Somebody*, which occasion'd a great many Jest to be thrown out upon him. But his Vanity render'd him yet more contemptible than the Meanness of his Birth; he began to grow considerable, from his serving in the Army under the Command of *Marcus Crassus*, the most *avaritious* Person of all the *Romans*. By him was *Cethegus* often employ'd in raising and collecting *Contributions*, and being very active in the Camp, he advanc'd himself by just Degrees, and, could he have establish'd the Character of Virtue too, gain'd the

* In Virâ Luculli. Porc. Latro contrâ Catilinam.

the Reputation of a valiant and expert Soldier. As he grew into Command, his Pride and Ostentation shew'd themselves more flagrantly : And it was observ'd of him, that he generally wore his Vest richer than any of the Patricians, having it adorn'd with Embroidery of Gold or Silver : And this he did to force as it were a Respect from the Vulgar, who, knowing the Meanness of his Descent, look'd upon him to be no better than one of themselves.

CAIUS VERRES, another who was deep in the Scheme of this *flagitious* Plot, was no more than a *Bondman*, or *emancipated* Slave at first. History is not express in the Circumstances either of what Parents he was, where he was born, or from whence he came. Nor is the Enquiry of any Moment, any more than it would be to examine why he was call'd *Verres*.

|| THE *Romans*, we know, were used to give the *Cognomen* or Family-Name, from the Temper of Mind; from external Marks, or Qualities of the Body; or from some Events and Change in Fortune. Thus the Names of *Cato* and *Frugi* were bestow'd on the Account of Wisdom and Virtue; *Africanus*, *Capitolinus*, *Felix*, &c. from Conquests obtain'd and Accidents of Fortune; *Cicero*, *Macer*, *Celer*, and the like, from

Marks,

|| *Cognomina Familiarum alii aliundè repetunt, quæ tamen, ut rem paucis expediam. ad tria quasi capita revocari possunt: ità ut alia ab animo, alia à corpore, alia à fortunâ ducantur. Ad animum verò pertinent virtutes, mores, oratio, artes, studia, res gestæ, &c. ad corpus, partes corporis, color vestitus, habitus, cum altero Similitudo; & alia ejusdem generis. Ad fortunam & casum cætera. Cantelius de Roman. Republ.*

Marks, and Qualities of the Body. And by these Rules of Custom, *Verres* might probably obtain his Title from his *sordid* and *hoggish* Disposition: As *Verres* among the old *Romans* signified a *Swine*, or *Boar-pig*. *

BEFORE he came to be distinguish'd in the *Political* World, he had run thro' several mean and servile Offices of Life, and amongst the rest had exercis'd the Trade of a *Barber*. Who can help being astonish'd, that the Destruction of the bravest People in the World was to be brought about by such vile and contemptible Instruments!

HOW he came to be known to, or espous'd by, *Marcus Crassus*, I cannot pretend to trace from History; but being observ'd to be a crafty, busy, and designing Fellow, he was employ'd by him in disposing of his Money to *Usury*: And *Marcus Crassus*, being unwilling the People should discover his great Wealth, because the greatest Part of it was not very honourably acquir'd, found this *Verres* extremely useful to him, both for the Concealment and Improvement of his Estate. It was his being in this Secret then, in all Probability, that laid the Foundation of his great Fortune.

WHEN *Marcus Crassus* commanded the Army of the *Romans*, this *Verres* with others was employ'd in furnishing *Cloaths* for the *Soldiers*, and was afterwards question'd for *embezzelling* some of the Money.

NOT

* Vid. *Isidori Gloss. vetus*,

NOT long after this Detection of his *Honesty*, he was employ'd to *bribe* certain Senators for their *Votes* to the *passing* of an *Edict*: He was chose out for this Work, as being known to be a Fellow void of Shame, and not to be put out of Countenance at a Discovery. Here he was again call'd to the Question; a sly Senator, in an Ironical Speech, declaring himself in Favour of *that* Law, but telling the House at the same Time, that, *No doubt, they would wonder at his being on that Side of the Question; but that he had very powerful Reasons to produce them for his Opinion; and, with that, produc'd the Bribe to the Senate, and without Scruple inform'd them from whose Hands he had receiv'd it.*

THESE glaring Instances of *Corruption* in the Conduct of *Verres*, for which at *honest* Times, he would have been banish'd the Commonwealth, were now the Qualifications that recommended him to Preferment. For when Virtue and Honour no longer presid'd over publick Affairs; but the City was govern'd by Faction and Avarice, the Views of Men in Power no more regarding the Good of the State, but their own sordid Interest, they had ever some vile Business on Foot, and of Consequence they wanted *dirty Tools* to go thro' with their *dirty Work*.

FOR such Virtues as these was *Verres* first taken Notice of and caress'd; and by entering into the Mysteries of a *wicked* Faction, was advanc'd to an Office both of *Honour* and *Profit*: in which he acquir'd Wealth and Power, and seem'd to want nothing but *Honesty* and *Content*. I say,
Con-

Content, because his Avarice was never to be satisfied: For in all the Degrees of his rising Fortune, he maintain'd the abject Mind of a Slave, his Thoughts being ever in the Dirt; so, in Order to grasp what was impossible, Wealth enough to content his craving Soul, he became a Principal in this Conspiracy.

VERRES had one Favourite Son, who, tho' he did not inherit all his Father's Vices, had a Stock of others peculiar to himself. He was a brisk, forward, Person, of a great Assurance, and as Authors describe him *parum pudicus*, neither modest in his Countenance, nor his Conduct. His Education was of the meanest, he was vers'd in no polite Literature; nor had studied *Oratory*, or the *Greek* Tongue, the darling Embellishments and Learning of the Times: But, like a Vagabond, had pass'd his Youth in the Company of *Stage-players*, *Mimicks*, *Tumblers*, and *Rope-dancers*; and distinguish'd himself in a publick Manner by his Amours with a *Minstrel*, or *Dancing-Woman*.

IT was thought at first that his greatest Ambition was to become a *Stage-player* himself, he often practising those Antick Gestures and Songs which he had learn'd by being continually in their Company. These Qualifications render'd his Conversation very agreeable to a Number of luxurious young *Romans*, who minded nothing but Pleasures and Riots.

BUT while he kept this irregular Company, an Accident happen'd that might have been of fatal Consequence, but which, however, ended well enough: For being in the Streets of *Rome*,

one

one Night with *Pandarus*, the Tragedian, one of his darling Associates, a Citizen of *Rome* was murder'd in the Dark, and it was suppos'd by the Sword of *Pandarus*. The Affair was examin'd into, but young *Verres* so manag'd his Evidence, in Justification of *Pandarus*, that he was immediately acquitted by the Judges. This Accident alarm'd old *Verres* so far, that he threaten'd his Son, if he did not forsake that Company, to send him into *Asia*. Whether the Son obey'd, or no, is not very evident ; but, by a Circumstance that happen'd after this, we are left to suppose he did not.

FOR *Marcus Crassus*, being one Evening at the Theatre, and seeing the *Dancing-Woman* before-mention'd, who was Young and Fair, perform her Part with several Gestures and Motions design'd to move Desire ; and being to depart for his *Province* in a few Days ; it is said, that he sent for young *Verres*, and imparted his Desire of enjoying this Woman to the Youth ; who so manag'd the Affair, that she soon follow'd *Crassus* to his *Province* ; nay, and as some affirm, was conducted thither by young *Verres*.

BY this Action he not only highly oblig'd *Marcus Crassus*, but gave a Specimen of his Readiness for any Enterprize which led to his Interest. *Crassus* was not only immensely Rich, but very Great in the Commonwealth, and had it in his Power to prefer every one who had any Pretensions to his Favour. Nor was it uncommon in those Days, for Slaves and other mean Persons to be advanc'd in their Fortunes and promoted to Dignity, only by being privy to the Vices of Great Men.

Men. Nor in an Age of Corruption and Degeneracy are any Persons encourag'd, or carefs'd by the Great so much, as the vile Instruments of their Pleasure.

THUS Young *Verres* gain'd extraordinary Preferment, by the only Means in the World that should have barr'd him from it: And a senseless Irregularity, back'd with pushing Assurance, gain'd him all the Advantages of Wisdom and Experience. A Jigg and a merry Song were as meritorious in him, as the deepest and most important Schemes of Politicks would have been in another: As if being a Buffoon was the Thing that qualified a Man best for a grave Employment.

BUT *Marcus Cato*, tho' he liv'd in this luxurious Age, was of a different Opinion: For he oppos'd *Muræna*, when he stood for the Consulship, by objecting that he had been in *Asia*, and was a *Dancer*. For Dancing was accounted such a Levity, as only was excusable in the Madman and Drunkard, and therefore not to be admitted in a State-Officer. It was look'd upon, by the People of Gravity and Morals, to follow only at the Heels of intemperate Feasting, to suit with Hours and Places of idle Pleasure, and the utmost Effeminacy. † It was one of the Luxuries that was deriv'd to *Rome* from her *Asiatick* Conquests, and therefore *Cato* judg'd that a Man, who could spend any Time in practising such an Exer-

† Nemo enim ferè saltat sobrius, nisi fortè insanit, neq; in solitudine, neque in convivio moderato atque honesto. Intempestivi convivii ameni loci, multarum deliciarum comes est extrema, Saltatio. *Cic. pro Murænâ.*

Exercise, was not worthy to rule as a *Magistrate* over a wise and valiant People.

CATO, therefore, was no ways instrumental in the Advancement of Young *Verres*; the Faction, by which he was rais'd, were of another Genius and Spirit, and found out a new Maxim in Politicks, which was, that a *Drole* in his proper Place might make a very *accomplish'd Statesman*. For it being their Business to gain over the Voices of the Senators to back their Schemes, || *Catiline*, for that End, had order'd his assur'd Friends to sound and find out their darling Vices; that each might be gratified in the *Weakness* of their several *Passions*, or that *Taste* of *wickedness* in which their *Hearts* most delighted. The *Avaritious* therefore were drawn in by the Engagement of a *Bribe*, the *luxurious Appetites* with a *sumptuous Entertainment*: The *Sportsmen* were presented with *Hunting-Dogs* and *Horses*; and the *Sporters*, in another way, were furnish'd with Choice of the most *exquisite Harlots*. For some Men will certainly do as much for a *Feast* or a *Harlot*, as others will do for a *Bribe* or *Preferment*: And thus baited, they often gave their Suffrages without knowing wherefore, or for what Reason.

THE searching out of Tempers, and adapting these Allurements, was one of the Provinces of young *Verres* and which, they say, he discharg'd with Abundance of Address.

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WHAT

|| Uti cujusque Studium ex ætate flagrabat aliis scorta præbere; aliis canes, atque equos mercari; postremo neque sumptui, neque modestiæ suæ parcere, dum illos obnoxios, fidosque sibi faceret. &c. in bello Catilin.

WHAT *Salust* remark'd of *Catiline* himself, might as justly be applied to young *Verres*, that he was grasping and desirous of Other People's Money, but profuse of his own. It is said, that he was liberal both with Reason, and without it: And tho' he was very eager in the Pursuit of Wealth, he squander'd it away again in Luxury and Vanity.

AS he had given so many Proofs of the Looseness of his Morals and want of Integrity, so neither did he want to establish any Character in the Point of Religion: But rather labour'd to convince the People, that he had as little Veneration for the Gods, as the Fashion of the Times seem'd to dispense with, and as his Conduct in other Parts of Life requir'd him to have. And one notorious Instance of his Impiety appear'd to the Populace, who judge best by such publick Testimonies, in that having taken a Piece of Ground which belong'd to the People, with Design to build himself a House there, it happen'd that a *Temple* dedicated to one of the Gods stood upon Part of this Ground which he had hir'd: Young *Verres* immediately inclos'd the whole Spot, modell'd out his Building, demolish'd the old Temple, and on its Foundations laid a new Structure, in which he design'd to entertain his Guests with Midnight Dances.

LENTULUS *Sura*, was a Person of no extraordinary Dignity in the Commonwealth: however got into Office by the Interest of *SULPITIUS* a *Patrician*, who was his Kinsman. And having no great Foundation of Fortune

he willingly embark'd in this Conspiracy, with Hopes to enrich himself by the Spoils of the People.

QUINTUS Annius, was a busy Senator of a shatter'd Fortune, who by changing sides, and adhering still to the strongest, got into Offices of great Honour and Profit; having the Management of a great Part of the Publick Monies, and likewise expecting to grow very wealthy all at once, he fell in and was subservient to the Measures of the Conspirators, among whom he soon became a Principal.

WHAT gave the greatest Alarm and Surprise, when the Discovery of this pernicious Design broke out, and the minutest Circumstances came to an *Eclaircissement*, was to find, that the *Pontifex Maximus*, or venerable HIGH-PRIEST was also suspected of conniving at their Crimes. Whether he were at first a Principal, or not, was not so evident; but most agreed, that he was not. The Faction, it seems, finding he might be useful to them, by Reason of his Character and great Authority, won him over by a considerable BRIBE, to entertain a good Opinion of their *Probity* and *Design*.

THESE were the Leeches, that were to suck up the Wealth of the People of Rome; these, the Tools and Instruments that were to unhinge the publick Liberty and Constitution of the State, *Crudelissimum hominum Genus, & ab omni penitus humanitate derelictum*, as *Porcius Latro* styles them: A most barbarous and abandon'd Set of Men, that relinquish'd and shook Hands with all No-
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tions of Humanity. Many of them, as we have seen, were contemptible for the Meanness of their Descent, but much more contemptible by their Vices and Character. To consider them in their true Light, we shall find they were of Principles and Capacity suitable to the Cause in which they were engag'd. Nor did there want a Tribe of *less* Figure, and more *mechanick* Qualifications, who were assisting to them in several Parts of their detested Schemes. They knew that dull Brains might perform some Offices best, and with least Suspicion of any latent Views. And what has Oratory, what have the Arts and Sciences to do in the Execution of Rapine, Fraud, or Oppression? A Man may make an exquisite Cheat, without having studied the Flowers of *Demosthenes*; and be able to give a BRIBE *ex more Majorum*, without reading the Laws of *Solon* or *Licurgus*.

CATILINE therefore shew'd that he understood Men, when he cull'd and selected such as were most *profligate* and *degenerate* in their *Morals*, and where guilty of no *Scruples* arising from *offended Vertue*, or the *Stings of Conscience*: Since, if he had happen'd to have made choice of one *Honest Roman* in the beginning of his Scheme, it might have prevented all the Workings of the Faction, who were to support and aggrandize themselves on the ruin of their fellow Citizens.

WE have run thro', I think, the Characters of the *principal* Projectors, and Agents in this inhumane Conspiracy, the Master-Engines that first put this Mischief into Action, and gave
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it Motion. But there were other *latent* and *conceal'd* Adherents, Men of the first Rank for Quality and Power, (whom since *Cicero* declin'd to name to the *Senate*, I shall forbear to brand here with Ignominy) whom the Hope of being at the very Top of Affairs, rather than any Necessity, or Want of Fortune, drew in.*

IT cannot be expected, neither would it be of any Consequence, to decipher the *subordinate* and *inferior* Tools, the *Plebian* Rogues, that were distinguish'd by no Titles, nor dignified with any Offices, or Honours in the State, but whose *vile Assistance* was absolutely necessary in bringing about this Destruction, and who therefore were to be *gratified* with a *Dividend* of the *Spoil*.

AMONGST this infamous Scum of the Conspirators, I cannot, however, help taking notice, that there were some *Women*, † who by prostituting themselves were supported at a most expensive and extravagant Rate. In this Number, of most Eminence, were *Aurelia Oristilla*, *Sempronia* and her two Neices, and *Fulvia*, a kind of Bawd or Procurefs. These were all *foreign* Concubines, but *Inmates* in *Rome*, and came either from *Gaul* or *Belgia*.

CATILINE had also let into the Secret a Number of other Foreigners, who, he knew, would

* Erant præterea complures paulò occultius consilii hujus Participes, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quàm inopia, aut alia Necessitudo.

† Mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ primò ingentes sumptus stupro corporis toleraverant. Sal. in bellò Catilin.

would readily enter into any Design against the *Romans*; partly on account of the establish'd Hatred betwixt them and the City, and partly on the Prospect of enriching themselves by the illegal Plunder.

THERE were at that time in *Rome* several of the *Allobroges*, a People of *Gaul* or *Germany*, to whom *Catiline* made himself a Patron, by promoting their Interest, and that of their Country. The Negotiations of these People were concerted and transacted between *Catiline* and *Vulturcius*, one of their Chiefs, and who, before his Residence at *Rome*, had come thither as an *Embassador* from his State. *Vulturcius*, great as he was in his Republick, and as much as he was caress'd by the servile *Patricians* at *Rome*, prefer'd the Reputation of Policy and Depth of Intrigue, to the Ostentation of making a Figure. His Head and Heart were ever employ'd to aggrandize the Affairs of the *Allobroges*, and as one probable Step towards it would be to drain the Treasures of *Rome*, it was thought that *Catiline* took all his Measures and Schemes of his Conspiracy from the *Plans* and *Counsels* which the subtle *VOLTURTIUS* laid down to him. These People therefore were admitted into the Cabal, and made of the Conspiracy, these were to have a large share of the Wealth of *Rome*; and in return they had engag'd to have an *Army* of *Barbarians* ready to march to *Rome*, when their Plot should be executed, in order to keep the Populace in Awe.

THERE was a Law among the *Romans*, that none should be capable of Employments in
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the Commonwealth, except the *Citizens of Rome* and other *Natives of Italy*: This Law, therefore, excluding these Foreigners from holding Offices, they by being at the Head of this Faction, and by that Interest capacitated to dispose of Offices, set up a Trade of selling the Employments of the Commonwealth for large Sums of Money. The *foreign Courtizans* were, particularly, great Dealers in this kind of Traffick; and *Money* went to them as to a *Market*, where, as in other Markets, without any Respect of Persons the *best Bidder* was sure to be the *Purchaser*.

NAY, so general, and well-known was this Commerce, that in some Cases, their very Female *Attendants* took upon them to bargain for publick Places: Those Damsels, who were retain'd to receive the Gallants, and dispose Matters for the Mysteries of Love were haunted with the *Sollicitations of depending Candidates*; and Business of the State, which made a Hurry in the City, was often transacted by the intriguing Head of a *Strumpet's Chambermaid*. *FULVIA* had a very large share in this Trade, and great Court was continually made to her: Being a *Lady of extensive Parts and large Capacity*, she had the more Power of obliging her Suiters: And according to the Strength of their *Purses* or their *Inclinations*, would procure them either a *good Employment*, or a *Maidenhead*.

IT would be pretty hard to determine, what it was that attach'd Men so much to these *foreign Women*, they being no way desirable for their Beauty; (and Beauty has been ever look'd

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upon

upon as one of the greatest Merits in that Sex) they had neither that Delicacy of Shape, that Air, or Elegance of Features, which charm'd you in the *Roman Ladies* : but were coarse and masculine ; and those monstrous *Protuberancies* of *Breasts* which were seen in all of them, were likelier to move Disgust, than inspire Love. If they had any Charms, they were remote from sight, and known only to their Lovers : But it became modish now to affect things that were *exotic* ; therefore all the Account or Reason which I can find to be given for this deprav'd Taste, was, that *ugly Women* were then in *Fashion*.

I MUST pass by, as I before observ'd, the other *inferior* Abettors of this Conspiracy ; they being so obscure in Fame, that they never had been mention'd in any History, were it not that they had a share in this flagitious Plot. Let it suffice to say, that when they were swoln to a Number sufficient to begin the Work, frequent Meetings were held to consult upon the proper Measures for bringing about their grand Design.

I T was at one of these Meetings, that *Catiline* made that celebrated Speech, the Substance of which we find at large in *Salust* and others ; and which gives us a great Light into the Views and Reaches of the Faction. The whole Speech, which I judge to have been deliver'd at their first Meeting, would be too long to be crowded into this Pamphlet ; therefore I shall only give the most material Heads, and throw them into the best Method I can, to give the Reader an Understanding

standing and Insight into the monstrous Aims of this Party.

The Speech of CATILINE to the Conspirators.

Most Noble Romans,

* **B**UT that I know you all, and have approv'd the Strength of your Virtues and Constancy, and mighty Spirits by which your generous Souls are actuated, this glorious Opportunity had vainly fall'n into our Hands, and these Schemes of grasping Power been, at best, but an idle and ill-grounded Hope. You are all acquainted with the Cause of this our Meeting, and every Roman has imparted to his Friend in private the Substance of what I am now about to offer.

LOOK on the Commonwealth, my Friends, as you would on a Prostitute, that is enjoy'd and defil'd by each contending Party, as it is in their Turn to prevail. This is our Turn, and let us keep her Ours: For if some Giant of the State should rise, strong in the Affections of the vile and giddy Multitude, and back'd with popular Applause, whose Arm might be of Force to hurl us from this Eminence, say, Romans, where shall we hide our Heads? Shall not we grow degraded, poor, and despis'd? Oppress'd with Wants at home, and Debts abroad? Scorn'd by the proud, and scoff'd at by the Vulgar?

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Trembling

* Ni Virtus, Fidesque, vestra satis spectata mihi foret, nequicquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna dominationis in manibus frustra fuisset, &c.

Trembling beneath the Rods and Axes of new Magistrates, and lastly, sacrific'd to popular Resentments? — But sure, there is not a Roman in all this Assembly, who would not chuse to die, rather than lose with shame, what he had got by his glorious Ambition. — But why do I talk of Death? I call the Gods to witness, the Power is in our hands; the Means of Safety our own. The Guardian Gods of Rome have left the City; the Senate seems to sleep; a kind of Lethargy is over them: They neither hear, nor see, nor understand, but what we dictate. Let them sleep on, my worthy Friends, nor may they ever wake, till wak'd by Ruine.

WHAT then is wanting but to begin the Business, when the Success of the Event is certain? Methinks, I know your Hearts, I see into your Souls, and there behold the same Affections, Appetites, and Passions, which govern mine: There is a kind of Sympathy betwixt gallant Spirits, and that it is which now gives me this Boldness, first, to propose, then, to lead you to an Enterprize, which in spite of all the haughty Courages in Rome, shall place you high above the Reach of Punishment.

THEN rouse, my Friends, and meet Dominion and Command: Fortune seems in a wanton Fit; she's even prodigal to favour our Designs, and courts us all with Honour, Wealth, and Power. Methinks, tho' I were dumb, the Opportunity, your common safety, and the rich Spoil of Thousands, were call enough to make you snatch the happy Hour, which time may never produce again. But say, Romans, were there Danger in this Enterprize, is not the Advantage worthy of some Hazards? Does not the Wealth of Nations flow into Rome, and here rest as in its proper

per Centre? Are not her Nobles, Senators, nay, Plebeians, cloath'd in Gold? Is she not drunk with Luxury and Pleasure? So giddy, that she does not know herself? Say, then, Romans, is there a Heart in all this Circle so little Roman, as to raise a Phantom, and form an Image of a groundless Danger? Are not the Legions all at our Command? the Prætors, Tribunes, and Centurions, our own? Have not our Friends, the Allobroges, here present, already muster'd an Host of disciplin'd Barbarians, who shall march to Rome when we give the Word, to curb and tame that most unruly Beast, the Multitude, should it presume to spurn at our Authority? And, lastly, to give a Credit and Sanction to our Cause, does not the Pontifex Maximus himself, the venerable Father and Head of our Religion, espouse our Schemes, and assist their Fortune with his Prayers and Counsels?

THINK then the Business done; imagine you see the whole Herd of Senators dispos'd; and every proud luxurious Roman stripp'd of his Pride, and humbled with his Wants; the Lictors, Fasces, Axes, all at your Command: Your Palaces crowded with your Clients, waiting and bowing at a distance for a Smile; the Ambassadors of conquer'd Nations suing and kneeling to you as to the Gods, and even tributary Kings courting your Assistance. Your Wealth will know no End, nor will even Prodigality itself, with all the witty Luxury of Men, be able to weary it out. Whose will the whole World, be but yours? All that the Avarice of our Ancestors has been Ages in heaping up, will be yours at one happy Stroke: Nor shall a Roman eat, or breath, but by our Permission.----- This Province shall be allotted to bold Cethegus, That to Lentulus: Rome to Us All. Is there a
Palace

Palace which you would possess, or an Enemy whom you would kill? Is there a Beauty you would enjoy? Whose Wife, whose Daughter, or whose Boy shall be found in Rome, that the glad Husband and willing Parents will not be proud to bring to your Embraces, and make a Merit of their Infamy. We having the Wealth, all Things else will be subservient to Us: For Wealth commands more than the Immortal Gods: The whole Universe obeys it; the Neck of Rome is fitted for our Servitude, and the Iron Yoke of Power is forg'd, that shall bind her down to Subjection.

THE N, in Spight of hated Cato, or, that new Fellow Cicero, whose Fasces shall be trodden in the Dirt, we will proceed in our Enterprize. Let them bellow out for Liberty, till they crack the Walls of the Senate, yet they shall perish in their boasted Virtue. Ambition is a Burthen too great for such weak Minds as these; it takes its place in nobler Spirits, whose Thoughts are in the Stars; it is the Virtue of the Gods and Godlike Men.

SINCE then propitious Fortune puts it to our Choice either to command or obey, to lead the World, or to be led as Slaves; say, Confederates, is there a Man in all this noble Crowd, who would become a voluntary Slave? If there be One, let him go forth into the Forum, and give his Neck up to the inglorious Yoke; let him drag out a miserable Life, exposed to Want, and Infamy, and Scorn.---- No,---- your generous Minds disdain the ignoble Thought; I read a forward and aspiring Genius thro' every Look around Me: Therefore I need not ask your Approbations; Wealth, Glory, and Success, be with you all, my Friends; and be sure of Catiline both for your Friend and Servant.

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I DON'T remember in History an Harangue made up with more Art, and Insinuation than This of *Catiline* ; especially if we consider the Persons to whom it was address'd.

HE animates them to the vilest Depredations and most flagrant Crimes, with Notions of Glory and Honour : But the Baits and Temptations, which he threw in their Way, shew'd that he understood the Depravity of Nature, and knew how to strike in with all its Appetites. He consider'd them as a Crew of profligate and abandon'd Wretches, and therefore very cunningly speaks to their Vices. He tells them of Wealth, of Power, and of Revenge ; of raising their Interests, and destroying their Enemies ; of commanding what Women and Boys they lik'd ; giving them in this a Touch of his *own Taste*, but very sily avoiding to declare what his own particular Views were:

HIS Speech therefore met with a general Approbation, as they had but one Mind among them all, that is to say, one *wicked* Mind to *destroy* their Country. But, in Respect of Friendship one to another, they had no Tie or Disposition to it, any longer than their common Interest or Safety obliged them to unite. For a Friendship grounded upon Virtue is the only lasting Friendship ; but theirs having no Foundation, but a *political Confederacy* to carry on *Mischief* and *Ruin*, every one of them had some *private* Views of his own, independant of his *Fellow Thieves* : So that it would not be improper to say that, at that Time, there were as many

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Conspiracies against the *State* as there were *Men* in *Office*.

CATILINE, † having ended his Speech, as it is reported by several Authors, took the Blood of a Man, whom he had caused to be murder'd for that Purpose, and having mix'd it with Wine, drank a Draught of it to the Conspirators, and made it be carried round to them in Cups, such as were used at the most solemn Sacrifices. With this horrid Ceremony, each took an Oath of Secrecy to the other, binding themselves not to give the least Hint to any Person, tho' it were to save a Father, Brother, or most intimate Friend from inevitable Destruction. So that, by this Confederacy, all the Ties of Blood and Nature were to be cut off; the dearest and most tender Unions to be broke; and Friend and Foe to be sacrific'd to their Schemes without Distinction.

THEY proceeded next upon the proper Measures of executing their Plot; the Resolution was, as may be seen by *Catiline's* Speech, to seize upon the *Wealth* of all the People of *Rome*, and share it among *themselves*. Thereupon, *Portions* and *Dividends* were appointed and mark'd out for each Man according to his Dignity.

BUT

† Fuere eâ tempestate, qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habitâ, cum ad jusjurandum populares sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum, in pateris circumtulisse. *Salust.* in Bell. Catilin. Vide etiam *Lucium Florum*, *Dion. Cass.* *Tertull.* in Apologet. &c.

BUT as every private Man's Riches were not to be discover'd, while they were in his own Hands, they made use of a *Stratagem* to incline the People to bring forth their Money *voluntarily*, and that was by publishing a Proposal to give a most *extravagant* Interest for Money, and *this* upon the *publick Faith*. The Avarice of that Age was so tempted by this *Bait*, that not only the *Roman* Citizens, but People from all Parts of the Empire, *crowded* to dispose of their Money upon this *profitable Scheme*:

WHEN they had by this Contrivance got into their Possession the Wealth of the *Roman* Empire, they purchased the *Lands* and *Palaces* of the *Patricians* and others: but the very *Sums*, with which they made such *Purchases*, soon return'd into their Hands again: For the Hope of extravagant Gain had so *infatuated* the People of that Age, they strove who should be most forward in *selling* their *hereditary Patrimonies*, to raise an *imaginary* Fortune by this *new* and *promising* Adventure.

THO' they had got into their Possession whatever they could aim at; yet so hasty and violent were our Conspirators in their Grasplings; that they minded nothing but *catching at the Spoil*: Even before the *Scheme*, that was to *secure* them in the *Possession* of their Plunder was brought to Maturity; which, no doubt, was the *overturning* the *Liberty* of the *Commonwealth*, and setting up some other *Form* of Government:

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THESE

THESE Proceedings alarm'd several of the *wise* and *honest* Men of the City, particularly CATO, and CICERO the Orator: Who mov'd the Senate concerning these Things, upon Suspicion of the lurking Mischiefs that lay at the Bottom of their Proceedings. Upon this, several of the *inferior* Agents of the Party were apprehended and examin'd; among the rest, one *Quintus Curius*, who had been a busy Instrument in the most *secret* and *roguish* Part of their Transactions. By him the Senate were let into a most horrid and surprizing Scene of Villany; yet, when the *Conspirators* came upon their Trials, I don't find that he *ever* appear'd, not even against *Catiline* himself; which made it currently suspected, that he was *carried off*, or *spirited* out of the Way by the *Contrivance* of the *secret* Abettors of this Conspiracy.

NEW Discoveries, however, were every Day made against the Conspirators, and the *honest* Part of the Senate judg'd the Proofs so *strong*, that it was necessary to free their Country from these Vipers, who had done more Mischief than all the Devastations of *Marius* and *Sylla*, or any the most bitter foreign Enemies to the *Roman* State.

BUT now the most surprizing Part of the History begins to open: For the Conspirators aware how Things were going, thought it Time to bestir themselves in their Defence: And as they were Masters of all the Money in the City, and knew the Corruption of the Age and of the People,

People, they did not despair of coming off in Spight of Conviction.

CATILINE, therefore; whose Cunning never forsook him at a Pinch, cast about with all his Industry for the proper Means to save both their Lives and Fortunes; which he knew could not be done without first *securing a Majority of the Senate* in their Favour. In order to this, the Assistance of *Hortensius* now became essential, with whom he had been at the greatest Variance for a considerable Time: For, by his Intrigue and Interest, he had so far oppos'd *Hortensius*, as utterly to throw him out of all Office. But considering the Nature of the Man from a Circumstance before cited, which happen'd when he was *Quæstor*, or *Treasurer of the Army*, he believ'd there was a Way to *touch his Passions*: they coming, therefore, to a Conference upon the Subject, *Hortensius* was so mov'd with the *Strength of Catiline's Arguments*, that the forgiving Man laid aside all Resentments, and undertook to *skreen the Conspirators from Punishment*.

UPON this the Conspirators once again took Heart, and grew so bold, that not one of them fled in Apprehension of the Consequences: They knew well, that when their *own Party* was join'd to *that of Hortensius*, it would turn the Scale of the *Senate* in their Favour.

NOTWITHSTANDING this new Amity struck up betwixt *Hortensius* and *Catiline*, the Reason of which every body pretended to interpret, the honest Party proceeded vigorously in their Prosecutions, and, however they should be

overpower'd with *Numbers*, were resolv'd at least to shew an *Inclination* of *serving* their Country.

THE first, who was question'd upon the *Villanies* of this Conspiracy, was *Lentulus Sura*; and he was charg'd with being a Principal. Many of the Witnesses prov'd that he had taken an immense Sum of the People's Money; but what avail the strongest Proofs, where Men are prepossess'd, and determin'd to acquit? After many Harangues made on both sides, *Sura* was clear'd by the *Majority* of *two* Suffrages.

IT is impossible to express what a Damp was struck upon the Spirits of the People, when this was known thro' the City: But what added to their general Melancholy, was, that *Cicero* the Orator, and even *Cato* himself went out of the Senate before the Trial of *Sura* was over; whereby they gave the malignant Party the Advantage of two Voices. It look'd, indeed, as if Justice was fled from Men, and *Bribery* had driven *Virtue* quite out of the Senate.

WHETHER they did this thro' a Contempt of the Proceedings, or thro' Despair of doing any good, is altogether uncertain; but by their Conduct afterwards they clear'd themselves from all the Suspensions that were at first advanc'd. For *CATO* pen'd several vehement Harangues, writ with a noble and masculine Eloquence, and which seem'd to have in them a Taste of the Spirit of old *Rome*, when it enjoy'd its Liberty. These were all sign'd with the Name of *CATO*, and dispers'd publicly among the People: The Design of them was to
expose

expose the Guilt and Villany of the Conspirators, and, if possible, to *shame* the Senators from *siding* with them.

BUT Corruption was now grown so common and publick among great Men, that it almost ceas'd to be thought infamous; and all the Virtue that was left in *Rome* was in the common People. This *Lentulus Sura* understood so well, that when he was acquitted of the Prosecution by the Majority of two, as is before mention'd, he having brib'd some of his Judges, he was so free to complain to his Friends, || *That the Money which he gave to one of them was a needless Charge, since one Suffrage would have been sufficient to have clear'd him.*

THE next, who came upon Trial, was *Quintus Annius*, and now Affairs took another very unexpected Turn; for by what happen'd in the Case of *Lentulus Sura*, there were but small Hopes of any of the Delinquents being brought to Justice. For whether it was that *Hortensius* had any private Grudge to *Annius*, or whether the Faction thought it advisable in good Policy to suffer *one* of their *Members* to be sacrific'd to appease the popular Fury; it is certain, that *Annius* was found guilty of every Fact laid to his Charge, which gave no small Content to the suffering Multitude. For a Dawn of Hope now began to shine again in *Rome*, and Liberty seem'd, as it were, to rear its drooping Head. It was thought

|| Frustrâ, inquit, impensum quod alteri Judicium datum est: Satis quippe erat, si unâ tantum sententiâ solutus abissem. Plut. in vitâ Tull. Ciceronis.

thought, the malignant Party were losing Ground apace in the Senate; the People expected not only to see their Wrongs reveng'd by the *Death* of the *Conspirators*, but *Restitution* made them, for what had been so *notoriously plunder'd* from them.

IT now began to be the Discourse, that *Sura* should again be call'd to Question, nor be allow'd to plead his former Acquittal, in Disappointment of the Senate's Enquiries, since, as it appear'd to Men; they were satisfied of his Guilt. But this Interval of Joy was of a short continuance, nor did it in the least terrify *Catiline*, who by his own Management, and that of *Hortensius*, had made all safe in Respect to himself. For *Hortensius* now was like an hir'd Stage-player, who being paid for acting; is oblig'd to act whatever Parts are assign'd him, without regarding whether the Characters he represents, make him the *Patriot* or *Betrayer* of his Country.

THE day, that was appointed for *Catiline's* Trial, now being at hand, this great Master in subtlety, to shew how well he could dissemble, appear'd in the Senate, attended by *Hortensius*, with all the Tranquillity of an innocent Man, who was fearless of any thing being imputed to him.

CICERO with his accustom'd Eloquence, open'd the Charge against him, alledging, that in all his Conversation with the Bar, he had never met with stronger Proofs against any Man, in any Cause, either Civil, or Criminal: And
then

then addressing himself to the Senate, he added, *If a Proof that amounts to certainty from all its Circumstances, be of any Weight with you, Catiline must be found guilty in your Sentence.* This was answer'd by *Hortensius* in a palliating Harangue; in which he complimented the Criminal upon his *Integrity* and *clean Hands*; and endeavour'd to lessen the Credit of the Evidence against him. And after *Hortensius* had finish'd the Defence, *Porcius Latro* seeing which way things were likely to go, stood up, and with much Oratory exaggerated the Charge; saying, *if such Crimes went unpunish'd, perhaps, it would be the last time that ever the Gods would put it in their Power to serve their Country.*

BUT no Arguments, nor Instances of Guilt had any Influence upon Men, who seem'd determin'd in their *Judgments* before they heard the *Merits* of the *Cause*: Not the Fear of drawing upon them the Hatred of their Fellow Citizens, not the imminent Danger their Country must run, from the escape of these Delinquents, could get the better of a *spreading Corruption*. They, who were at first innocent, made themselves criminal by defending the Guilty; shewing plainly that the Warmth which they had express'd against the Criminals, was thro' Anger for not having been let into the Secret, and made Partners in the Profits of so successful a Robbery; and that they had Inclinations as mischievous and base, as the most malignant of the Conspirators.

A CERTAIN Author relates, that the day before *Catiline's* Trial came on, *Hortensius* went

went about from one Senator's House to another, and speaking to them one by one in their Closets, there made use of those *golden* Arguments which in this infamous Age were found irresistible, and which made *Catiline's* Affair safe. Nor were these corrupt Practices any Secret to the *Romans*, who knew very well what it was that brought about this *new Confederacy* of *Hortensius* with *Catiline*. They saw the Friends, Creatures, and Clients of *Hortensius* immediately obtain Offices by the Interest of *Catiline*; and that the two Statesmen play'd the Game into each others Hands by turns, in order to aggrandize themselves on the publick Ruin: Now dividing, then uniting, as the Scene of Affairs happen'd to shift. Nor is there any thing more certain, than that at this very time, tho' *Catiline* was fav'd by the Management of *Hortensius*, and *Hortensius* aggrandiz'd by the Interest of *Catiline*, they secretly *hated* each other, and tho' the Circumstance of Affairs now made an *Union* necessary to them both, yet each privately resolv'd to *ruin* the other, whenever he should find a fit Opportunity. For Envy and Avarice always accompany each other, and each would be for grasping the whole Spoil of the Publick to himself.

UPON the Acquittal of *Catiline*, a kind of Despair spread it self thro' the Populace, nor was ever any thing so miserable as their present Condition. It was melancholy to look into the Wants of private Families; they who but for some Months before, liv'd in Ease and Plenty, were reduc'd to Streights for the very Necessaries of Life, while they saw these *triumphant*
Robbers,

Robbers, laughing at Justice, and shining in Gold and Purple, spurning and insulting the People whose Wealth they were drest in. Nor durst the poor Sufferers *réproach* their Plunderers, because it was *penal* to *bespatter* their *Honour*. For tho' Virtue fears no Calumny, Vice is tender; and will not be touch'd too rudely.

THE Senate also discover'd, what *vast Quantities* of the People's Money had been given to *foreign Courtisans*, *Bawds*, *Parasites*, and *Ganimedes*, who had made young *Verres* their Agent in this Affair: and the Résolution at first was to punish the Agents: But finding by the Account of *Catiline*, that the Stream of Corruption run so very violent, that there was no bearing up against it; they despair'd of contributing to the Relief of the Commonwealth, and therefore were determin'd to let the Matter rest. As a Pilot, who, when the Tempest runs so strong that the Ship is not to be managed, quits the Helm, and trusts the Safety of it to the Immortal Gods.

WHAT afterwards became of *CATILINE* and his *Adherents*, shall be the Subject of another Discourse, as the Author can find Leisure to collect and digest the Materials for this History.

F I N I S.

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